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AUTHOR Redd, Kenneth E.
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ABSTRACT

Recent reports on the college enrollment and degree completion experience of African American students have largely ignored the contributions of historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), which, in 1997, produced 28% of the bachelor's degrees conferred on black students. This study used data from the second follow-up of the 1993 Baccalaureate and Beyond Longitudinal Study to compare the postcollege activities of African Americans who received degrees from HBCUs and other institutions. Data show that, in general, graduates of HBCUs had experiences after graduation that were very similar to those of graduates of other types of colleges. A slightly higher proportion of graduates from HBCUs enrolled in graduate and professional programs and received advanced degrees. HBCU graduates were also substantially more likely to participate in community service activities. There were many differences in the experiences of black male and female graduates, and most of these differences were due to variations in demographic and other characteristics of black men and women. (Contains 10 figures, 3 endnotes, and 24 references.) (SLD)

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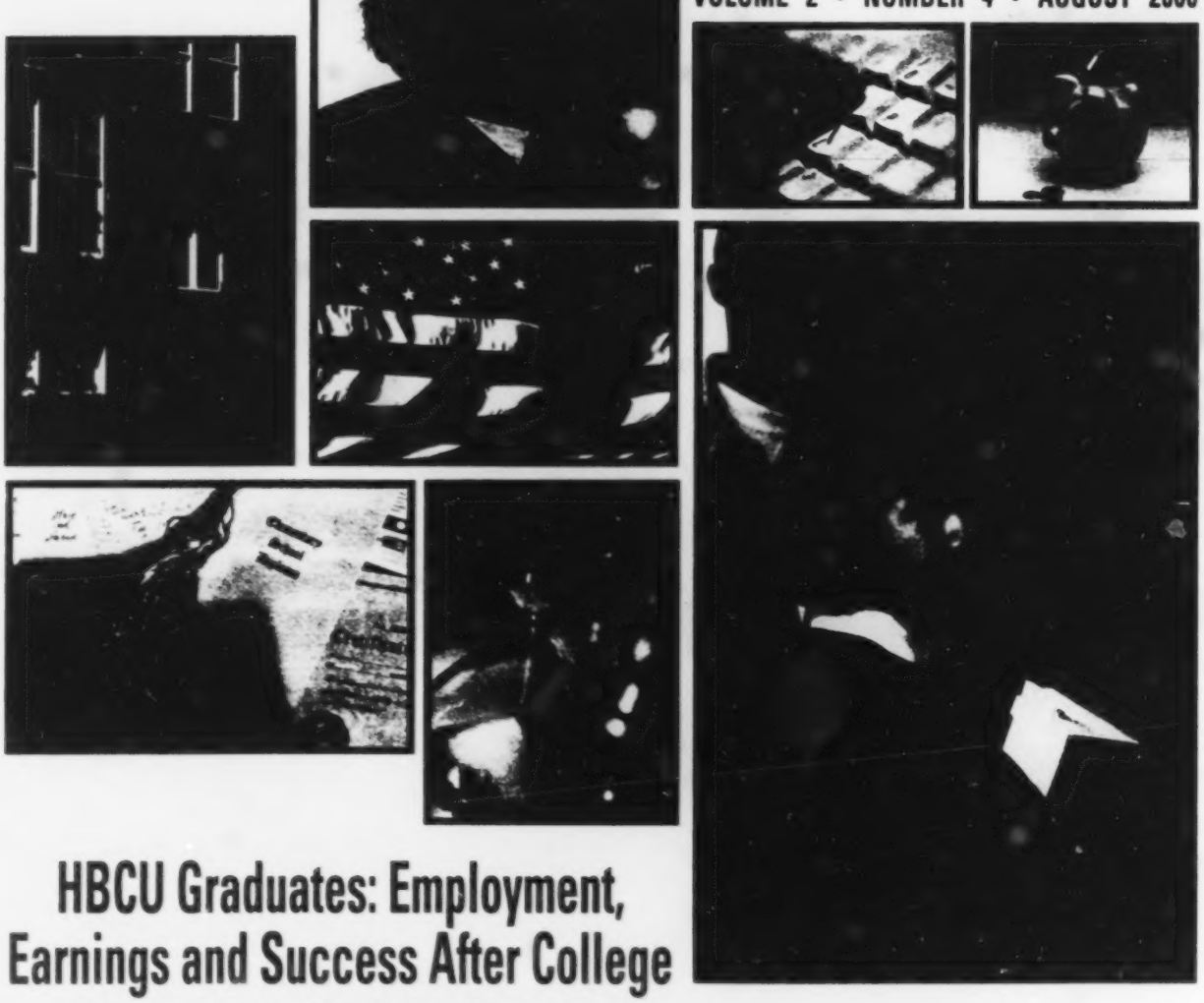

HBCU Graduates: Employment, Earnings and Success After College

Kenneth E. Redd, USA Group Foundation

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August 2000

HBCU Graduates: Employment, Earnings and Success After College

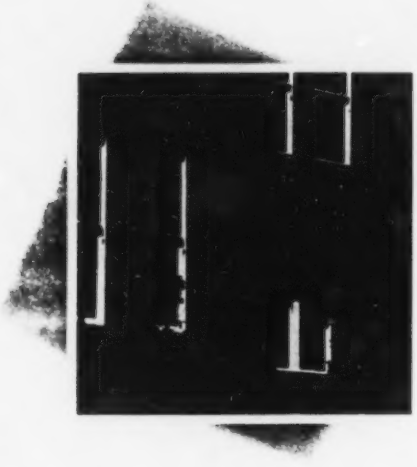
by Kenneth E. Redd

Director, Higher Education Research
USA Group Foundation

Executive Summary

Recent reports on the college enrollment and degree completion experiences of African American students have focused almost exclusively on those who attend predominately or traditionally white colleges and universities through diversity or affirmative action programs.

These reports have ignored the contributions of historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), which, in 1997, produced 28 percent of the bachelor's degrees conferred on African Americans. In addition, California, Texas, Florida, and several other states have eliminated their use of affirmative action for admissions to their public four-year colleges and universities. Thus, HBCUs could play an even greater role in providing educational opportunities for African Americans in future years.



It is important to identify any substantial differences in the post-college experiences and achievements of African Americans who receive their bachelor's degrees from HBCUs rather than from other types of institutions. Are blacks who graduate from HBCUs as likely to get jobs as those who receive degrees from other institutions? Do they have similar employment earnings and graduate/professional school attendance patterns? Do they participate in civic and community service activities at the same rates as their peers from other institutional types?

Prior research has shown that African Americans who received baccalaureate degrees from HBCUs earned slightly higher wages and were more likely to attend graduate and professional schools than those who graduated from other four-year colleges. This study updates this previous research by using data from the second follow-up of the U.S. Department of Education's 1993 Baccalaureate

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and Beyond Longitudinal Study (B&B) to compare the post-college activities of African Americans who received their bachelor's degrees in 1992-93 with the activities of those who received degrees from other types of institutions. The B&B follows a cohort of students who received bachelor's degrees in 1992-93 and collects data on their post-college experiences as of 1997, approximately four years after graduation.

Using the B&B dataset, this study examines the differences in employment statuses, occupational fields, job salaries, graduate/professional school attendance, and participation in voting and other volunteer/community service activities of black bachelor's degree recipients, by institutional type (HBCUs versus non-HBCUs) and sex. Gender variations in post-college experiences are important because African American women account for nearly two-thirds of the degree recipients at both HBCUs and non-HBCU institutions. Tests of statistical significance (at the 0.05 level) are used to measure these comparisons.

The data from the B&B show that, in general, African American HBCU graduates had very similar experiences after college as their peers from non-HBCU institutions. A slightly higher proportion of those who got their degrees from black colleges and universities enrolled in graduate/professional programs and received advanced degrees. HBCU graduates were also substantially more likely to participate in community service activities. However, there were important differences in the experiences of the black male and female graduates. Many of these differences were due to variations in the demographic and other characteristics of black men and women who received bachelor's degrees during the study period. Key findings of this study, by sex, are:

There were important differences in the experiences of the black male and female graduates.

- A higher proportion of African American women who received degrees from HBCUs than non-HBCUs majored in business and marketing (26 percent versus 22 percent); education (12 percent versus 7 percent); and mathematics, engineering, and computer science (8 percent versus 4 percent). Graduates from non-HBCUs were more likely to have majored in health and psychology (17 percent versus 12 percent) and history and social sciences (12 percent versus 11 percent).

- Black men from HBCUs were more likely to major in education, business/marketing, mathematics, engineering, and computer science.

- Black female graduates from HBCUs had significantly higher cumulative undergraduate grade point averages (2.95) than their peers at non-HBCUs (2.70), and were significantly younger at the time of receipt of the bachelor's degree (24.3 years old compared with 27 years old).

- Among men, the cumulative grade point average for HBCU and non-HBCU degree recipients was the same (2.75), and there was virtually no difference in their average ages (25.7 years old for HBCU graduates versus 26 years old for those from other colleges and universities).

- A higher percentage of black alumnae from HBCUs were unemployed. In April 1997, nearly 10 percent of the women from black colleges said they did not have

jobs, compared with only 2.6 percent of those from non-HBCUs. Differences in unemployment among men were much smaller (4.6 percent for HBCU graduates, 4.2 percent for non-HBCU degree recipients).

- Among women who were employed, HBCU degree recipients were more likely than their counterparts from other colleges to have jobs that traditionally pay lower salaries, such as teachers (27 percent of HBCU alumnae versus 16 percent of those from non-HBCUs) and clerk/administrative support staff (23 percent versus 19 percent). At the same time, substantially higher percentages of women from non-HBCUs were employed in business/management occupations (24 percent versus 10 percent) and in legal, health, and other professional jobs (21 percent versus 10 percent).

- There were no large differences in the jobs held by black male graduates of HBCU and non-HBCU institutions.

- As a result of the differences in occupational fields, African American women from black colleges earned significantly less, on average, than those from non-HBCUs. The mean annual salary of the recent HBCU alumnae who were employed full-time in April 1997 was $24,901, compared with $31,336 for non-HBCU women. Mean earnings from men, on the other hand, were nearly identical ($32,619 for HBCU graduates versus $34,162 for degree recipients from other institutions).

- Despite their lower salaries, HBCU alumnae were just as likely as their peers from other institutional types to be satisfied with their pay, job challenges, and promotion opportunities. Male graduates from black colleges were also as satisfied with these aspects of their jobs as men from non-HBCUs.

- A slightly higher (but not statistically significant) share of the women from HBCUs enrolled in graduate/professional schools and achieved master's or higher degrees. Among men, however, a higher but still insignificant share of non-HBCU graduates participated in graduate/professional schools and received advanced degrees. The results suggest that men and women from historically black institutions were just as likely as their peers from other institutional types to attend graduate/professional schools and receive advanced degrees.

- Men and women from HBCUs were more likely than their counterparts from other institutions to participate in community service. About 57 percent of African American male graduates from black colleges and universities said they performed volunteer work, compared with only 35 percent of those from non-HBCUs. Approximately 54 percent of black women from HBCUs participated in volunteer work, versus 50 percent of those from other institutions.

Men and women from HBCUs were more likely than their counterparts from other institutions to participate in community service.

HBCUs continue to contribute greatly to the successes of African Americans.

Black men from HBCUs and non-HBCUs had similar demographic and other characteristics; it is therefore not surprising that their employment and graduate/professional school attendance patterns are similar. Despite these similar characteristics, however, men from black colleges were significantly more likely than their peers from other institutions to participate in community service work. Perhaps their experiences at HBCUs contributed to the males' desires to serve their local areas.

Conversely, black women from HBCUs had much different characteristics than their counterparts from other colleges and universities. The differences in ages, college majors, and occupational choices very likely explain much of the variations in earnings. There are other factors that might account for these differences, such as the locations where these women graduates looked for jobs after college and the availability of jobs in the areas the graduates chose to live.

The results of this study demonstrate that HBCUs continue to contribute greatly to the successes of African Americans. In the past, higher education policy makers have assumed that blacks would do better after college if they enrolled in traditionally white institutions. However, the data show that black graduates from HBCUs, particularly males, can do just as well as in employment and other areas as those from other institutions. Higher education policy should recognize the contributions of black colleges and universities and support efforts to encourage more African Americans to receive bachelor's degrees, regardless of institutional type.

Introduction

ecent attention on the college enrollment experiences of racial and ethnic minority students has focused primarily on students of color who seek to attend predominately or traditionally white institutions through diversity or affirmative action programs (Reisberg, 2000). Unfortunately, the role that historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) play in providing higher education opportunities for African Americans and other low-income students has been virtually ignored. HBCUs represent just 4 percent of all the four-year public and private colleges and universities in the United States, but they enroll 26 percent of all African American undergraduates at four-year institutions, and produce 28 percent of the black bachelor's degree recipients (U.S. Department of Education, 1997a and 1997b).

At the same time, prior research has suggested that African American students who attend predominately white institutions are more likely than those at black colleges to experience greater levels of social isolation, alienation, personal dissatisfaction, and overt racism (Pascarella and Terenzini, 1991). Given these factors, and in light of the recent decisions by voters, courts, and government officials to eliminate the use of affirmative action for admissions at public colleges in California, Washington, Texas, Florida, and other states (Bakst, 2000; Finn, 2000),[1] HBCUs could play an even more important role in providing educational access and success for African Americans in the years to come.

HBCUs could play an even more important role in providing educational access and success for African Americans in the years to come.

Thus, higher education analysts who are concerned about educational opportunities for African Americans should acquire more information about the post-college activities of students who receive bachelor's degrees from black colleges. Armed with this information, analysts could compare statistics about those graduates from predominately white or other institutions. Particularly, it is important to know if African Americans who graduate from HBCUs have similar employment opportunities, incomes, and chances to participate in graduate or professional schools as do their counterparts from other types of colleges and universities.

Previous research has provided some insights on these issues. For example, Constantine (1995) used data from the National Longitudinal Survey (B & B) of the high school class of 1972 to find that the average hourly wages earned by black graduates who attended and received bachelor's degrees from HBCUs were slightly higher than those from other institutional types. Solorzano (1995) found that more than half of the African Americans who received doctoral degrees in engineering got their baccalaureates from black colleges.

This study attempts to update this previous research by using data from the second follow-up of the 1993 Baccalaureate and Beyond Longitudinal Study to compare the post-college experiences of African Americans who received bachelor's degrees in academic year 1992-93 from black colleges with those from other four-year colleges and universities. The Baccalaureate and Beyond dataset allows for comparisons of the experiences of these recent graduates by gender and college type; in the areas of employment status, occupation and job salary, graduate and professional school attendance; and participation in civic activities such as voting and volunteer/community service. Before examining these results, the study briefly describes the survey data and research methodology and provides information on the characteristics of black colleges and the students who attend them.

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Data and Research Methodology

Data collected for the second follow-up of the B&B study are based on a cohort of 11,192 individuals, statistically weighted to represent the approximately 1.2 million students who had received bachelor's degrees four years earlier.

he 1993 Baccalaureate and Beyond Longitudinal Study (B&B), conducted by the U.S. Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), tracks the activities of a cohort of college graduates who received their bachelor's degrees during the 1992-93 academic year (generally, at some time between July 1, 1992 and June 30, 1993). Information for the B&B was first collected during the students' final year of college as part of NCES's 1993 National Postsecondary Student Aid Study (NPSAS:93). Subsequently, the students were re-interviewed in 1994 and 1997 — approximately one and four years after college graduation — and asked to report on their employment statuses, job salaries, graduate/professional school enrollments, and other experiences (U.S. Department of Education, 1999a and 1999b).

Data collected for the second follow-up of the B&B study are based on a cohort of 11,192 individuals,[2] statistically weighted to represent the approximately 1.2 million students who had received bachelor's degrees four years earlier. About 1.9 percent of these alumni had graduated from a historically black college or university; more than 80 percent of the HBCU degree recipients were African American. The second follow-up interviews were conducted from April to December 1997 (U.S. Department of Education, 1999b).

The survey data discussed in this report are based on the B&B results for African American graduates whose last institution of attendance before receipt of a baccalaureate degree was an institution designated as a historically black college or university by the U.S. Department of Education.[3] The "last institution of attendance" distinction was used to avoid any possible biases that may have resulted from including students who transferred from another type of institution prior to graduation. The analysis is further restricted to include only those graduates who responded to the NPSAS:93 and the 1994 and 1997 Baccalaureate and Beyond surveys.[4] Additional information used to describe the demographic characteristics of African American graduates from HBCUs and all other institutions come from the NCES's annual Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) completion and fall enrollment surveys for 1993 and the NPSAS:93 database (U.S. Department of Education, 1993a, 1993b, and 1996e).

In most instances,[5] this study reports on the employment statuses, occupations, earnings, graduate/professional school attendance, and volunteer/community services activities of black HBCU graduates as of April 1997, compared with African Americans who received their degrees from all other four-year colleges and universities, referred to as non-HBCUs. Non-HBCUs include both predominately or traditionally white institutions and colleges and universities that had large numbers of minority students, but were not classified as HBCUs. These results were generated by using the December 1999 Data Analysis System (DAS), a public-use dataset developed by NCES for analyzing survey results from the second follow-up of the B&B study (U.S. Department of Education, 1999c).

Whenever possible, tests of statistical significance (at the 0.05 level)[6] are used to compare the mean[7] employment earnings and other results for African American graduates from HBCUs and non-HBCUs. The significance tests are also used to compare the results by gender in order to evaluate the differences between the experiences of male and female graduates. These tests are used to determine the likelihood that the differences between

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the graduates' experiences are due to sampling or other statistical anomalies (U.S. Department of Education, 1999b; Hamburg, 1970). In some cases, however, the sample sizes for African American graduates from HBCUs were too small to conduct these tests.

Characteristics of the HBCU Institutions and Students

Historically black colleges and universities are institutions whose traditional mission is to provide postsecondary educational opportunities for African Americans who might otherwise be denied access to college. The majority of these institutions are located in southern and border states, and were founded during the mid- and late-1800s when most traditionally white institutions would not admit black students (O'Brien and Zudak, 1998). In more recent times, as most institutions have become more racially diverse, many HBCUs have shifted their focus to providing opportunities for low-income students, regardless of their racial/ethnic backgrounds, who are unable to pay the higher cost of attending other four-year colleges. Still, more than 86 percent of the undergraduates enrolled at HBCUs are African American (U.S. Department of Education, 1997a).

Many HBCU students are the first in their families to attend higher education, and many more come from low-income families. In 1995-96, about 40 percent of the African American undergraduates at HBCUs were first-generation college students. The median adjusted gross family income of all African American undergraduates at black colleges in 1995-96 was $19,573, and 62 percent came from families with annual income of less than $30,000. About 80 percent of the students received financial assistance to help pay their costs of attending college, compared with 73 percent of those at non-HBCU institutions (U.S. Department of Education, 1999d). The $16,680 median family income of African Americans who received bachelor's degrees from HBCUs in 1992-93 was nearly 18 percent lower than the $19,645 median family income of black graduates from other colleges (U.S. Department of Education, 1999e).

A majority of the black colleges were originally founded as "normal" schools that sought to provide education and training for students who wanted to become teachers, primarily at racially segregated elementary and secondary schools. As times changed and the roles of these institutions evolved and expanded, they began to provide degrees in liberal arts, humanities, sciences, mathematics, engineering, and many other fields (Redd, 1998).

Characteristics of the 1992-93 African American Bachelor's Degree Recipients

In 1992-93, there were 106 HBCUs, 90 of which were four-year colleges and universities that awarded at least a bachelor's degree (U.S. Department of Education, 1993a).[8] These 90 institutions conferred[9] 25,884 bachelor's degrees; 84 percent of these degrees were awarded to African Americans. The bachelor's degrees received by the black graduates from HBCUs represented nearly 29 percent of the 76,393 baccalaureates conferred on African Americans at all four-year public and private colleges and universities during the year (U.S. Department of Education, 1993b).

The bachelor's degrees received by the black graduates from HBCUs represented nearly 29 percent of the 76,393 baccalaureates conferred on African Americans at all four-year public and private colleges and universities during the year.

The overwhelming majority of the black graduates at both HBCUs and non-HBCU institutions were female. As Figure 1 on the next page shows, approximately 64 percent of

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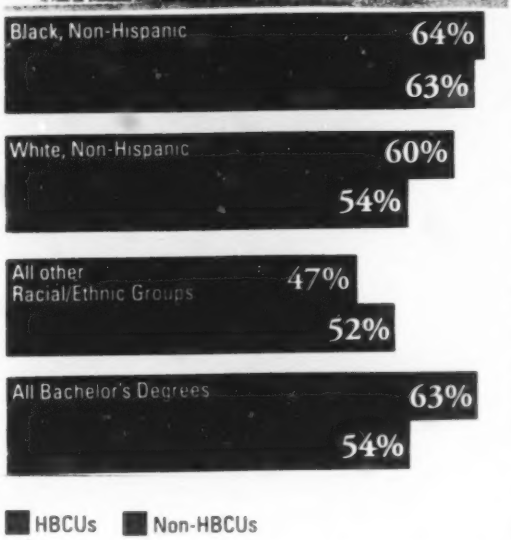
the black graduates at HBCUs were women, while 63 percent of those from other types of institutions were female. Conversely, just 54 percent of all bachelor's degrees at all non-HBCUs were awarded to women. These figures demonstrate that black graduates were more likely than degree recipients from other racial and ethnic groups to be women, regardless of institutional type.

One reason black women represent a larger share of the African American graduates is that college persistence and graduation rates are higher for females generally and African American females particularly. A recent study by NCES (U.S. Department of Education, 2000) shows that, of the students who had entered college as first-year students in 1989-90, just 29.9 percent of the African American men had received a bachelor's degree by 1994, compared with 37 percent of black women. Nearly 39 percent of the black males had dropped out of college before receiving a baccalaureate degree, versus 36 percent of females. Just 12 percent of all African American men 25 years old and older had attained a bachelor's degree or higher by 1997, compared with 16 percent of women. Further, Mortenson (1999) suggests that low family incomes, high child poverty, residential instability, and less involvement by fathers in their sons' lives may adversely affect the rates at which males from all racial/ethnic groups enroll in and graduate from college. These trends may be even more pronounced for young African American men.

Because many HBCUs began as normal schools that emphasized teacher education, they historically have had a higher percentage of students who received degrees in education than did other institutional types. In 1992-93, 40 percent of the education degrees conferred on African Americans were awarded by historically black institutions (U.S. Department of Education, 1993b).

Proportion of 1992-93 Bachelor's Degrees Conferred on Women by Race/Ethnicity and Institution Type

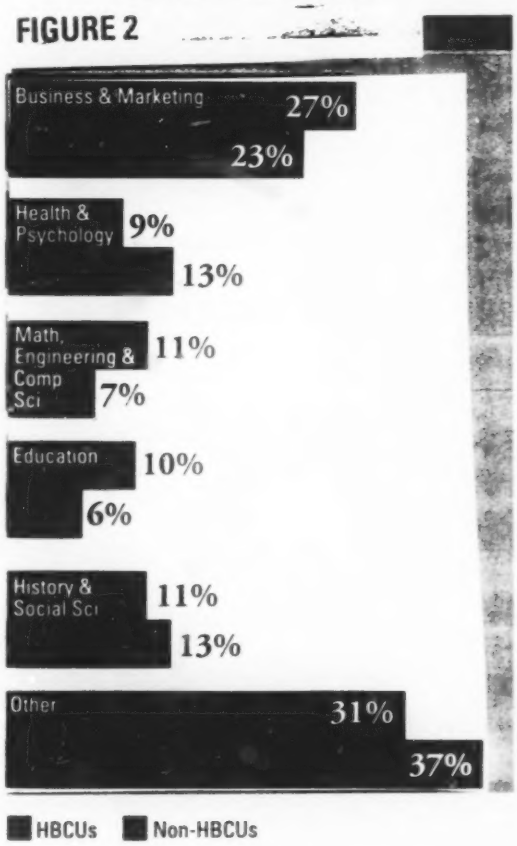
FIGURE 1



Source: U.S. Department of Education, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System 1993 Completions Survey.

Major Fields of Study for Bachelor's Degrees Conferred on African Americans in 1992-93

FIGURE 2



Source: U.S. Department of Education, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System 1993 Completions Survey.

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These education majors represented 10 percent of the bachelor's degrees conferred on African Americans at HBCUs, versus just 6 percent at other institutional types (see Figure 2 on previous page). Education majors are not the only academic disciplines over-represented by HBCU graduates. Approximately 27 percent of the black college degrees were awarded in business and marketing, compared with 23 percent at non-HBCUs, and 11 percent of the baccalaureates from black institutions were awarded in mathematics, engineering, and computer sciences, versus 7 percent at other institutional types.

The proportion of degrees conferred also varied by institutional type and sex. Table 1 shows that nearly 12 percent of the degrees awarded to black women who graduated from HBCUs were in education, compared with 7 percent of those from other four-year institutions. Approximately 8 percent of the female graduates from HBCUs received degrees in mathematics, engineering, and computer science, versus 4 percent at other institutional types. A higher proportion of women from non-HBCUs received bachelor's degrees in health and psychology (17 percent, compared with 12 percent at HBCUs).

A higher percentage of black men who graduated from HBCUs received their degrees in business and marketing (29 percent, compared with 25 percent of males from non-HBCUs) and mathematics, engineering, and computer science (16 percent versus 13 percent). Male graduates from non-HBCU institutions were more likely to major in history and social sciences (16 percent versus 12 percent).

Despite their differences in academic majors, black women who received their bachelor's degrees from HBCUs had significantly higher undergraduate grade point averages (GPA) than their counterparts from other institutional types. The 2.95 mean composite GPA for female graduates from black colleges was one-quarter of a grade-point (or more than 9 percent) higher than the mean for those at other colleges and universities (see Figure 3 on the next page). At the same time, the mean GPA for African American male graduates from HBCUs was identical to that at all other institutions (2.75). As a result of the large difference for women, the cumulative GPA for all HBCU graduates was significantly higher than for graduates from other institutions (2.89 versus 2.72). Constantine (1994) has demonstrated that black undergraduates do better academically at HBCUs than at other institutions because they foster environments that are more supportive of African American students, their students are more involved with campus activities and faculty, and, as a result, their students are more confident. The results from the B&B survey suggest that these factors may have had an even greater effect on black women's academic performance.

African American women who graduated from HBCUs were also significantly younger than those from other institutions. On average, black women received their degrees from HBCUs when they were 24.3 years old, compared with 27 years of age for those from

Major Fields of Study for Bachelor's Degrees Conferred to African Americans in 1992-93, by Sex and Institutional Type

TABLE 1

	MALES	
	HBCUs	**Non-HBCUs**
Education	7%	4%
Business & Marketing	29%	25%
Math, Engineering & Computer Science	16%	13%
History & Social Sciences	12%	16%
Health & Psychology	5%	7%
All Others	30%	36%
Total	100%	100%

	FEMALES	
	HBCUs	**Non-HBCUs**
Education	12%	7%
Business & Marketing	26%	22%
Math, Engineering & Computer Science	8%	4%
History & Social Sciences	11%	12%
Health & Psychology	12%	17%
All Others	31%	38%
Total	100%	100%

Source: U.S. Department of Education, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System 1993 Completions Survey.

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other four-year colleges and universities (see Figure 4). There was virtually no difference between the mean ages of black male graduates from HBCUs (25.7 years old) and those from other colleges and universities (26 years old).

Post-College Activities of the Recent HBCU Graduates

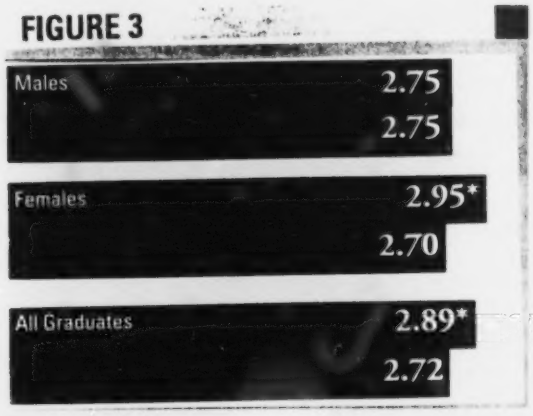
Employment & Earnings

The rapid economic growth the United States experienced during the study period caused the civilian unemployment rate for all males 20 years old and older to decline from 6.6 percent in April 1993 to 4.3 percent in April 1997. The rate for all females fell from 6.1 percent to 4.4 percent. Unemployment rates for African Americans declined from 13.2 percent to 8.6 percent for all males, and from 11 percent to 8.6 percent for all females (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2000).

While the overall rate of joblessness for African Americans was lower, unemployment rates for the recent African American HBCU bachelor's degree recipients were higher than the rates for degree recipients from other institutions. Just 3.2 percent of the African American respondents to the B&B survey from non-HBCUs said they were unemployed in April 1997, while 8.4 percent of baccalaureate recipients from HBCUs did not have jobs (see Figure 5). These percentages compare with unemployment rates of 2.7 percent for all male college graduates, and 2.6 percent for all females (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2000).[10] Approximately 83 percent of the HBCU graduates had full-time jobs, and 8 percent were employed part-time. Conversely, 88 percent of the graduates from other types of colleges and universities were

Mean Cumulative Undergraduate Grade Point Averages for 1992-93 African American Bachelor's Degree Recipients

FIGURE 3

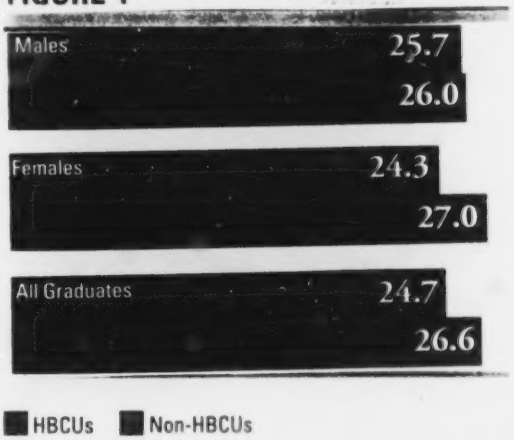


Source: U.S. Department of Education, 1993 Baccalaureate and Beyond Longitudinal Study Second Follow-Up, Data Analysis System, December 1999.

*Difference is statistically significant (0.05 level).

Mean Age at Time of Receipt of Baccalaureate Degree for African Americans Who Received Bachelor's Degrees in 1992-93

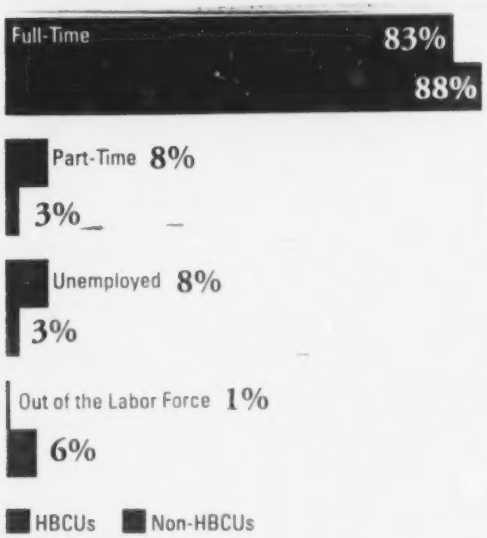
FIGURE 4



Source: U.S. Department of Education, 1993 Baccalaureate and beyond Longitudinal Study Second Follow-Up, Data Analysis System, December 1999.

April 1997 Employment Status of 1992-93 African American Bachelor's Degree Recipients

FIGURE 5



Source: U.S. Department of Education, 1993 Baccalaureate and Beyond Longitudinal Study Second Follow-Up, Data Analysis System, December 1999.

4.2 percent, respectively. About 89 percent of the men who graduated from non-HBCUs held full-time jobs, compared with 88 percent of those from historically black institutions.

Lower employment rates for African American women who graduated from HBCUs may have been due to a wide variety of factors. These include differences in the availability of jobs in the areas where the graduates chose to live after graduation, and differences in the types of jobs these women may have sought during the study period. There is no evidence to suggest that the differences were due to the quality of the education or training that female HBCU and non-HBCU graduates received.

Among the African American graduates who were employed, there were also wide variations in the types of jobs held by type of institution. Figure 6 on the next page shows that a higher percentage of the HBCU graduates were employed as teachers (20 percent, versus 15 percent of those from non-employed full-time, and 3 percent were working part-time.

Differences in employment statuses among African American graduates were due largely to the higher rates of joblessness for female baccalaureate recipients from HBCUs. Table 2 shows that 10 percent of the black women who graduated from HBCUs said they were unemployed in April 1997, but only 2.6 percent of those from non-HBCUs did not have jobs. About 87 percent of the non-HBCU graduates were employed full-time, versus 80.7 percent of the HBCU alumnae. These differences, while they appear to be large, are not statistically significant.

For African American men, however, employment statuses varied only slightly. The unemployment rates for males from HBCUs and non-HBCUs were 4.6 percent and

April 1997 Employment Statuses of 1992-93 African American Bachelor's Degree Recipients, by Sex and Institutional Type

TABLE 2

	Employed Full-Time	Employed Part-Time	Unemployed	Out of the Labor Force
All Graduates				
HBCUs	82.7%	7.7%	8.4%	1.1%
Non-HBCUs	87.7%	3.4%	3.2%	5.7%
Male Graduates				
HBCUs	87.7%	7.7%	4.6%	low n
Non-HBCUs	89.0%	1.0%	4.2%	5.8%
Female Graduates				
HBCUs	80.7%	7.8%	10.0%	1.5%
Non-HBCUs	86.9%	4.8%	2.6%	5.7%

"Low n" means the sample size is too small to generage a statistically reliable estimate. Due to rounding, details may not add to 100 percent.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, 1993 Baccalaureate and Beyond Longitudinal Study Second Follow-Up, Data Analysis System, December 1999.

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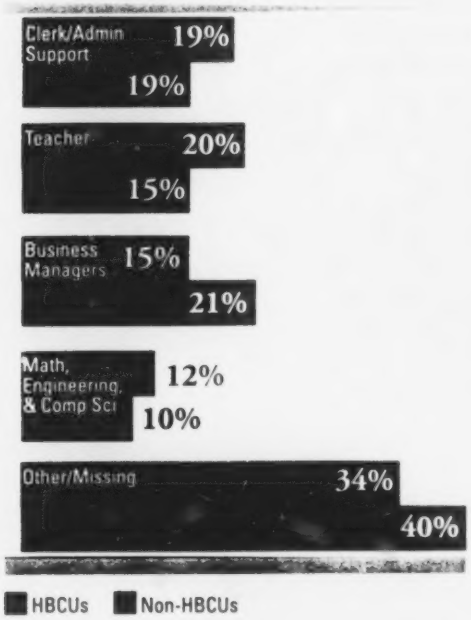
Jobs Held in April 1997 by African Americans Who Received Bachelor's Degrees in 1992-93

FIGURE 6



Source: U.S. Department of Education, 1993 Baccalaureate and Beyond Longitudinal Study Second Follow-Up, Data Analysis System, December 1999.

HBCUs) and clerks or administrative support staff (18 percent versus 14 percent). Meanwhile, a higher share of the non-HBCU graduates were employed as business managers or executives (21 percent versus 15 percent), and as legal, health, or other professionals (17 percent versus 11 percent).

These overall occupational differences were very likely due to the higher share of African American female graduates from HBCUs who were employed in education positions and clerk/administrative support staff jobs. As Table 3 shows, about 24 percent of the HBCU alumnae were employed as teachers, compared with 16 percent of women from other types of institutions. Approximately 23 percent of black women from HBCUs were employed as clerks and administrative support staff, versus 19 percent of those from other colleges and universities. At the same time, substantially higher percentages of women from non-HBCUs were employed as business and management professionals (24 percent versus 10 percent) and health, legal, and other professionals (21 percent versus 10 percent). It appears that women who attended HBCUs were more likely to become teachers and less likely to enter business and other professions, but due to small sample sizes there is not enough statistical evidence to draw this conclusion definitively.

Only 9 percent of the male baccalaureate recipients from HBCUs and other institutional types were employed in clerk/administrative support occupations. About 13 percent of the non-HBCU graduates held teaching positions, compared with only 5 percent of those from black colleges. Higher (but statistically insignificant) proportions of the men from HBCUs were in engineering and computer science positions (20 percent versus 12 percent) and business and management jobs (25 percent versus 22 percent).

Variations in occupational fields by sex and institutional type should not

Jobs Held in April 1997 by African Americans Who Received Bachelor's Degrees in 1992-93, by Sex and Institutional Type

TABLE 3

	Clerk/Admin Support	Teacher	Engineering & Comp Science	Business & Management	Health, Legal, & Other Profess	Other
All Graduates						
HBCUs	19%	20%	11%	15%	11%	24%
Non-HBCUs	15%	15%	7%	24%	17%	22%
Male Graduates						
HBCUs	9%	5%	20%	25%	12%	29%
Non-HBCUs	9%	13%	12%	22%	10%	34%
Female Graduates						
HBCUs	23%	27%	8%	10%	10%	22%
Non-HBCUs	19%	16%	4%	24%	21%	16%

*Includes only B&B survey respondents who were employed full- or part-time in April 1997.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, 1993 Baccalaureate and Beyond Longitudinal Study Second Follow-Up, Data Analysis System, December 1999.

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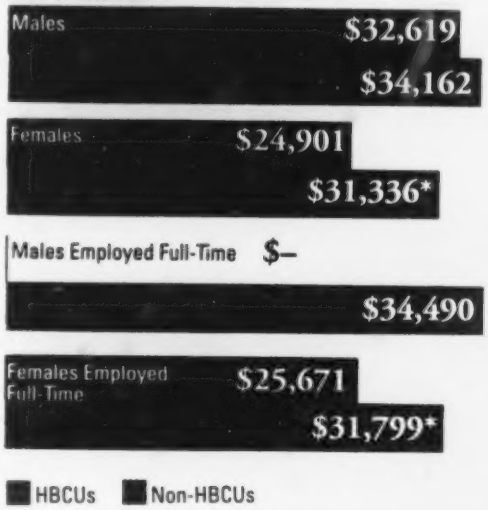
be unexpected, given the higher share of female graduates from HBCUs who were education majors. However, these differences appear to have attributed to the significantly lower employment earnings of African American alumnae from black colleges. In April 1997, black women who graduated from HBCUs earned, on average, $24,901, compared with $31,336 for women from other institutional types (see Figure 7). The $25,671 mean salary for females from HBCUs who were employed full-time was 19 percent lower than the mean for those from other four-year colleges and universities ($31,799).

Two important factors may help explain the substantially lower earnings for African American women who received bachelor's degrees from black colleges and universities. First, as the data from Table 3 showed, African Americans who got degrees from HBCUs were more likely to enter careers that traditionally pay lower starting salaries. For example, the median starting salary for all female college graduates who entered education-related fields in 1993 was $20,114 (in constant 1997 dollars), compared with $24,363 for business and management and $30,866 for computer science and engineering (U.S. Department of Education, 2000). Second, female graduates from black colleges were much younger than their peers from other four-year institutions. Since earnings tend to rise with age and employment experience, these younger degree recipients may not have been able to obtain wages as high as the older (and, possibly, more experienced) graduates from other types of colleges.[11]

Mean Annual Job Salaries in April 1997 by African American Bachelor's Degree Recipients

FIGURE 7



* Difference is statistically significant (0.05 level). Sample sizes were too small to calculate mean salaries for male graduates of HBCUs who were employed full-time exclusively.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, 1993 Baccalaureate and Beyond Longitudinal Study Second Follow-Up, Data Analysis System, December 1999.

Salaries for African American men who received their degrees from HBCUs, on the other hand, were very similar to those from other colleges and universities ($32,619 versus $34,162). A greater share of men than women from HBCUs majored in engineering and other fields that usually pay higher salaries. The median starting salary for all male graduates in 1993 (in constant 1997 dollars) was $32,802 for engineering and computer science majors, $26,658 for business and management, and $20,456 for education (U.S. Department of Education, 2000). Differences in salaries for men employed full-time exclusively could not be calculated due to the low number of black male graduates from HBCUs in the B&B sample.

Despite their lower salaries, black women who received degrees from HBCUs appear to be just as satisfied with their jobs as those from other institutions. As Table 4 on the next page shows, 42 percent of the women from black colleges said they were "very satisfied" with the challenges they received from their jobs, compared with 39 percent of their counterparts from other colleges and universities. Surprisingly, the percentages of HBCU alumnae who said they were "very satisfied" with their job salaries (24 percent) and promotion opportunities (26 percent) were slightly higher than the proportions from

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non-HBCUs (19 percent and 21 percent, respectively). The proportion of HBCU female graduates who were "very satisfied" with their fringe benefits (44 percent) was nearly the same as non-HBCU degree recipients (45 percent). These differences are not statistically significant, but they do suggest that women from HBCUs were as likely as their peers from other institutions to be satisfied with their jobs, even though the non-HBCU alumnae had significantly higher earnings. Perhaps a higher share of the women from black colleges were willing to trade higher incomes for job satisfaction and career fulfillment.

Percentage of 1992-93 African American Bachelor's Degree Recipients Employed in April 1997 Who Were Very Satisfied With Various Aspects of Their Jobs, by Sex and Institutional Type

TABLE 4

	Pay	Fringe Benefits	Job Challenge	Working Conditions	Promotion Opportunities
All Graduates					
HBCUs	26%	49%	47%	40%	32%
Non-HBCUs	22%	45%	43%	44%	28%
Male Graduates					
HBCUs	31%	56%	59%	52%	48%
Non-HBCUs	28%	48%	50%	53%	42%
Female Graduates					
HBCUs	24%	44%	42%	35%	26%
Non-HBCUs	19%	45%	39%	39%	21%

Source: U.S. Department of Education, 1993 Baccalaureate and Beyond Longitudinal Study Second Follow-Up, Data Analysis System, December 1999.

Graduate and Professional School Admissions, Enrollment, and Degree Attainment Activities of 1992-93 African American Bachelor's Degree Recipients as of 1997

TABLE 5

	Took a Graduate/ Professional School Entrance Examination	Applied to Graduate/ Professional School	Accepted to Graduate/ Professional School	Enrolled in a Graduate/ Professional Program*	Obtained a Graduate/ Degree or Certificate*
All Graduates					
HBCUs	48%	51%	38%	19%	11%
Non-HBCUs	40%	44%	36%	18%	10%
Male Graduates					
HBCUs	59%	48%	31%	14%	7%
Non-HBCUs	38%	36%	33%	18%	8%
Female Graduates					
HBCUs	41%	51%	40%	21%	12%
Non-HBCUs	44%	49%	37%	19%	11%

*Includes students who enrolled in programs that lead to a post-baccalaureate certificate, master's, doctoral, or first professional degree.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, 1993 Baccalaureate and Beyond Longitudinal Study Second Follow-Up, Data Analysis System, December 1999.

Graduate and Professional School Enrollment

Previous research (Pascarella and Terenzini, 1991; Solorzano, 1995) has suggested that African Americans who receive bachelor's degrees from historically black institutions are more likely to apply to and enroll in graduate and professional schools. As Table 5 shows, the results from the B&B survey are consistent with these earlier findings for females, but are less conclusive for males.

About 51 percent of the women from HBCUs had applied to graduate/professional schools, compared with 49 percent of those from other institutions. A higher percentage of the HBCU graduates had also been accepted to and enrolled in at least one program leading to an advanced degree.[12] Roughly 12 percent of the HBCU alumnae had received a graduate/professional school degree or certificate by 1997, compared with 11 percent of their counterparts from other colleges and universities. These small differences are not statistically significant.

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On the other hand, a much higher proportion of the men who received baccalaureates from HBCUs had taken at least one graduate or professional school entrance examination and had applied to at least one graduate or professional school. Yet, a slightly *lower* share had been accepted to an advanced degree program (31 percent versus 33 percent), enrolled in a program (14 percent versus 18 percent), and received a graduate/professional degree or certificate (7 percent versus 8 percent).

So, while a higher percentage of the African American male bachelor's degree recipients from HBCUs appear to have performed many of the duties usually required to begin graduate/professional education (i.e., took the admissions tests and completed the applications) relative to their peers from other institutions, a slightly lower proportion actually enrolled in these programs and completed degrees. Why this occurred is not clear; perhaps employment or personal obligations prevented some of these potential students from enrolling in advanced degree programs. However, these differences are small and not statistically significant, so it is also possible that sampling or other variations may account for the unexpected results.

Among the African American baccalaureate recipients who were enrolled in graduate or professional schools, a much higher proportion of degree holders from HBCUs were seeking master's degrees.[13] As Figure 8 shows, 88 percent of the black college graduates who had enrolled in advanced-degree programs were pursuing master's degrees. Only 78 percent of those from all other colleges and universities were in master's programs. A higher percentage of graduates from non-HBCUs had enrolled in doctoral (9 percent versus 5 percent) or first professional programs (12 percent versus 8 percent).

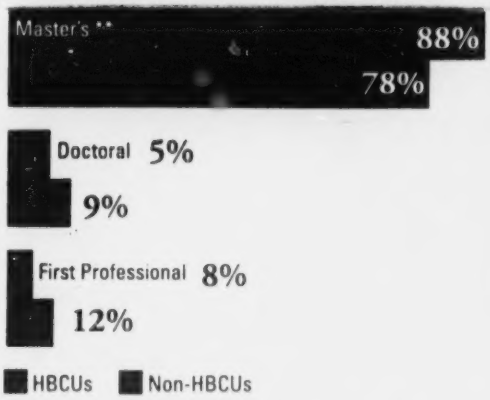
About 87 percent of the women who received bachelor's degrees from HBCUs were seeking master's degrees, compared with 82 percent of those from non-black colleges. Just 8 percent of alumnae from HBCUs were in first professional programs, while 13 percent of female graduates from other institutional types were seeking these degrees (due to small sample sizes, similar statistics for males could not be generated).

Many of the women enrolled in graduate/professional studies from HBCUs appear to be teachers or others in education-related fields. These occupations typically require a master's or higher degree as a prerequisite for licensure or advancement. More than one-third of the female graduate/professional students from black colleges were education majors, while only 19 percent of the women from non-HBCUs majored in education.

As a result, as Figure 9 on page 16 shows, 30 percent of the HBCU baccalaureate recipients who enrolled in graduate/professional programs were majoring in education. Just 19 percent of the African Americans from other institutions were studying education. A higher share of African Americans from HBCUs also majored in mathematics, engineering, and computer science (12 percent versus 9 percent). Conversely, 21 percent of those from non-HBCUs were majoring in arts, humanities, and social science fields, compared with 17 percent of the HBCUs graduates.

Highest Graduate/Professional Degree Programs for African Americans Who Received Their Bachelor's Degrees in 1992-93 and Enrolled in Graduate/ Professional School Programs by April 1997*

FIGURE 8



*Does not include graduates who were enrolled in undergraduate or non-degree programs. ** Includes students seeking MBAs and post-baccalaureate/post-master's certificates.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, 1993 Baccalaureate and Beyond Longitudinal Study Second Follow-Up, Data Analysis System, December 1999.

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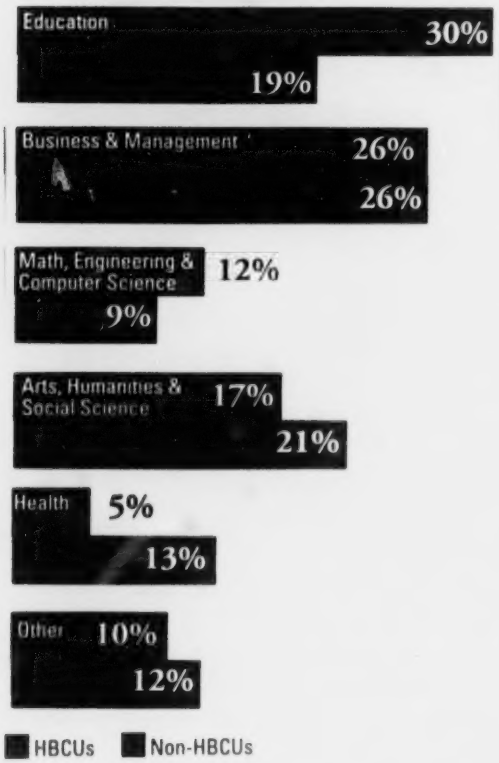
Jobs Held in April 1997 by African Americans Who Received Bachelor's Degrees in 1992-93

FIGURE 9



*Includes those who enrolled in post-baccalaureate certificate, master's doctoral, and first professional degrees.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, 1993 Baccalaureate and Beyond Longitudinal Study Second Follow-Up, Data Analysis System, December 1999.

In general, it appears that black men and women who graduated from HBCUs were just as likely as their peers from other institutions to enter advanced-degree programs. The small differences between the two groups in the percentages of graduates who enrolled in graduate/professional programs and received advanced degrees were not statistically significant, so they may have been due to sampling or other statistical anomalies, rather than to any real substantive differences in attendance patterns. However, a substantially higher percentage of the graduates from black colleges enrolled in master's programs and majored in education, suggesting that education majors from HBCUs were more likely than others from these colleges and universities to enter graduate programs.

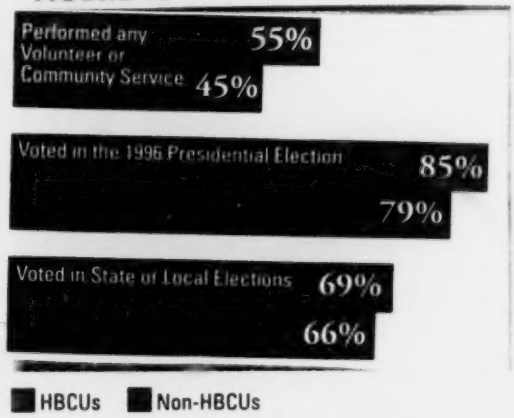
Voting and Community Service Activities

Of course, there are many other benefits to a college education than increased employment earnings and opportunities to earn graduate and professional degrees. Recent research (Institute for Higher Education Policy, 1998) demonstrates that college graduates are more likely to vote, to become involved in community or civic affairs, and to provide many other benefits to society that cannot be measured in dollars.

Similarly, African American college graduates from all types of institutions are much more likely than non-graduates to vote in national and state elections and to provide volunteer services to their communities. However, even greater shares of the black HBCU graduates said they participated in these activities. In 1996, just 51 percent of the eligible African American citizens voted in the national general election (Casper and Bass, 1998), compared with 85 percent of the recent black HBCU graduates and 79 percent of degree recipients from other institutions. Nearly 69 percent of the HBCUs graduates said they voted in a local or state election sometime within the past two years of being interviewed for

Percentage of 1992-93 African American Bachelor's Degree Recipients Who Participated in Various Civic Activities After Receiving Their Degrees

FIGURE 10



Source: U.S. Department of Education, 1993 Baccalaureate and Beyond Longitudinal Study Second Follow-Up, Data Analysis System, December 1999.

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the B&B survey, compared with 67 percent of graduates from non-HBCUs (see Figure 10).

Furthermore, 55 percent of the African American bachelor's degree recipients from HBCUs said they performed some type of volunteer or community service work within one year of being interviewed for the B&B study, compared with 45 percent of degree recipients from other institutions. Men from black colleges were significantly more likely than their peers from other institutions to perform volunteer service. Nearly 57 percent of HBCU males said they did community service work, but only 35 percent of those who graduated from non-HBCUs had participated in these activities (see Table 6). About 54 percent of the women who graduated from HBCUs had participated in volunteer activities, versus 50 percent of those from other institutional types.

Percentage of 1992-93 African American Bachelor's Degree Recipients Who Participated in Various Civic/Community Service, by Sex and Institutional Type

TABLE 6

	Voted in the 1996 Presidential Election	Voted in a State or Local Election	Performed Any Volunteer or Community Service
All Graduates			
HBCUs	84.9%	68.9%	55.1%
Non-HBCUs	79.5%	66.9%	44.8%
Male Graduates			
HBCUs	77.2%	63.5%	56.7%*
Non-HBCUs	78.8%	60.0%	34/9%
Female Graduates			
HBCUs	87.9%	71.0%	65.5%
Non-HBCUs	79.9%	71.9%	50.5%

*Difference is statistically significant (0.05 level).

Source: U.S. Department of Education. 1993 Baccalaureate and Beyond Longitudinal Study Second Follow-Up, Data Analysis System, December 1999.

Summary

The survey results from the second follow-up of the 1993 Baccalaureate and Beyond Longitudinal Study provide evidence of many successes for recent African American bachelor's degree recipients from historically black colleges and universities. In general, black graduates from HBCUs appear to have done just as well in employment and graduate/professional school attendance as those from other types of institutions, but there were substantial differences in the employment and educational outcomes for black men and women.

African American men who received their baccalaureates from historically black institutions in 1992-93 appear to have, by 1997, been just as likely as their counterparts from non-HBCUs to be employed full-time and to have similar employment earnings. These results occurred primarily because there were no statistically significant differences in the undergraduate GPAs, academic majors, or ages at the time of college graduation between black men at HBCU and non-HBCU institutions. Or, put another way, black male graduates from HBCUs appear to have demographic and academic characteristics similar to their counterparts from other types of institutions, and appear to have done nearly as well in the labor market. Despite these similar characteristics, graduates from HBCUs were significantly more likely to engage in voting and volunteer community service activities, which may be a very positive outcome of their experiences at black colleges.

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The B&B data suggest that black graduates from HBCUs can do equally well in employment and other post-college activities as those from other institutions.

On the other hand, a slightly higher (but statistically insignificant) percentage of males from non-HBCUs had enrolled in graduate/professional programs and received advanced degrees. This result occurred even though a higher percentage of the HBCU graduates had taken at least one entrance examination for advanced education and applied for admission to graduate/professional schools. While these findings may be of some concern, the differences are small and may have been due to statistical anomalies rather than real differences in graduate/professional school attendance.

The evidence suggests that the post-college experiences of black male bachelor's degree recipients from HBCUs have been, in general, very positive when compared with their peers from other institutions. What role the HBCUs may have played in these outcomes cannot be measured fully by the B&B survey results, but prior research has shown that the black undergraduates who attend HBCUs do well because of the nurturing environments, small class sizes, and other benefits provided by these institutions. It is possible that these factors may have helped the male students achieve some level of success in the work force.

At first glance, the results for African American women who received bachelor's degrees from HBCUs may appear to be just the opposite. These graduates had significantly higher undergraduate GPAs than their counterparts from other institutions. HBCUs also had a higher share of women who received their degrees in mathematics, engineering, and computer science, fields for which women generally — and African Americans particularly — are under-represented. And a higher percentage of HBCU alumnae also participated in volunteer/civic affairs activities. Unfortunately, the HBCU alumnae also had higher rates of unemployment and significantly lower employment earnings than black women from other types of colleges.

These somewhat negative results for the female HBCU degree recipients were most likely due to substantial differences in the graduates' ages, major fields of study, and occupational choices. Women who graduated from black institutions were significantly younger than those from other colleges. Younger people tend to experience higher rates of unemployment and have lower incomes. A higher proportion of female graduates from black colleges also majored in education and entered teaching and other jobs that usually do not pay high salaries, while, at the same time, much higher percentages of women who graduated from non-HBCUs were employed in higher-paying professional occupations.

Despite their lower salaries, black women from HBCUs appear to have been just as satisfied with their pay, job challenges, and promotion opportunities as were alumnae from other institutions. A greater share of these women may have been willing to accept jobs that traditionally pay lower wages in order to pursue careers that provided personal and career satisfaction and other non-monetary benefits.

Given these results, future discussions on affirmative action and other policies in higher education should recognize the contributions HBCUs play in increasing the odds for economic and social success for African Americans. In the past, diversity efforts by state and federal policy makers have focused primarily on increasing the number of racial and ethnic minorities who enroll in and graduate from predominately white institutions — in the belief that these colleges and universities provided the best chances for success for under-represented groups. The B&B data, however, suggest that black graduates from HBCUs can do equally well in employment and other post-college activities as those from other institutions. Government policies should, therefore, focus on encouraging more African Americans to attend and graduate from college, regardless of institutional type.

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Endnotes

[1] In the *Hopwood v. Texas*, 78F. 3d 932 (5th Cir.) decision of 1996, the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that diversity in admissions was not a "compelling interest" for colleges to use affirmative action programs. That same year, voters in California and Washington passed amendments to their state constitutions that do not permit their public colleges and universities to use preferences based on race or gender in admissions. In addition, the Florida Board of Regents recently voted unanimously to approve a plan that would abolish the use of affirmative action in its public colleges. These diversity programs will be replaced with the "One Florida" plan, which would, beginning in the fall of 2001, guarantee admission to Florida's public four-year colleges and universities for all high school seniors who graduated in the top 20 percent of their graduating classes, regardless of their race/ethnicity.

[2] For the second follow-up, 11,192 persons were eligible for inclusion in the B&B cohort. Interviews were completed with 10,093 of these individuals.

[3] Classification of institutions as "historically black colleges and universities" is codified under federal law (20 USCS 1061). See Redd, 1998.

[4] Approximately 83 percent of the interviewees had participated in the three surveys.

[5] The one exception is for graduate and professional school attendance. Here, the variable used reports the current or most recent level of post-college attendance, in order to calculate the proportions of the 1992-93 baccalaureate recipients who may have participated in graduate or professional school programs prior to April 1997.

[6] The comparisons of mean wages and other variables were tested using the Student's *t* statistics, based on a 5 percent probability of a Type I error (.05 level of significance). A Type I error occurs when one mistakenly concludes that a difference observed in a survey or experimental sample reflects a true difference in the population from which the sample is drawn. See U.S. Department of Education, 1999b.

[7] The study reports the arithmetic mean, rather than the average, values for employment earnings and other variables.

[8] During the study period, 16 of the HBCUs were public and private two-year colleges that did not award baccalaureate degrees. The data for this report do not include undergraduates from these institutions. Three HBCUs — Meharry Medical College, Morehouse School of Medicine, and the Interdenominational Theological Center — are graduate and professional schools that do not award baccalaureate degrees.

[9] The data refer to degrees conferred, rather than degree recipients, because some degree recipients may have majored in two or more fields of study.

[10] According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), the unemployment rate for persons 25 years old and older who had a bachelor's degree or higher in April 1997 was just 2 percent. The comparisons between the BLS unemployment rates and the percentages of unemployed respondents from the B&B should be judged cautiously, since different survey instruments and samples were used to calculate these rates. However, these rate comparisons do set a context for comparing the employment statuses of B&B respondents with the general U.S. civilian population.

[11] Unfortunately, the sample sizes from the B&B survey were too small to control for any possible differences in employment earnings by sex, age, and occupation.

[12] Some African Americans may have enrolled in programs leading to associate's or second baccalaureate degrees, but, for the purposes of this study, these were not considered graduate or professional programs.

[13] The data include students who were seeking post-baccalaureate certificates.

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Dr. Robert C. Dickeson
Senior Vice President
USA Group Foundation
P.O. Box 7039
Indianapolis, IN 46207-7039
317/951-5755
317/951-5063 fax
rdickeson@usagroup.com

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Robert C. Dickeson
Executive Editor

Jean B. Rose
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Natasha Swingley
Design & Production

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USA Group Foundation Editorial Advisory Board

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